/278 cont./

554 Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued
551 within the clans and that economic differences accompany the
614 bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans.
[582] These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

123 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The
764 village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry
614 goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has
616 chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice.
[345] The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 Most often these distinctions are established by proper names.
614 It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single
551 individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse
[161] of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

They compare the knowledge they have about their environment with the knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is substantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilineally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.

Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
616 [571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*401 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
[554] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

Brazil.

301 from us, around their heads; while the boys tied them around their loins, allowing the flap to drop behind.

302 It is chiefly the young men that besmear themselves from head to foot with the yellowish-red grease, or paint, until they glisten in the sunshine, and also mass a red, putty-like material into their hair. Both sexes allow their coarse, black, horse-tail like hair to grow long and drop down in an ugly, tangled mass over their shoulders, except in front, where it is cut off, like "bangs." The young men also paint a black crescent over the forehead from cheek to cheek, or a complete circle, passing over the upper lip; and glue bright feather epaulets on their shoulders. The men pull out every hair [304] of their sparse beards and also of their eyebrows, which gives them a peculiar look; and occasionally pierce the nose and ears as well as the lower lip.

142 The Bororó are large, stoutly-built, powerful men. I do not remember having seen one less than five feet eight inches tall.

• 554 Social grades exist among these children of the forest just as among higher races, though much less complex and not so distinctly marked. They have, in a small, crude way, an "upper ten" and a "lower ten" thousand; "high caste" people and "outcasts"; "dudes," "belles," and "back numbers;" "big men," "first families," and "the masses."

301 177 We could not but be highly amused at times because of the astonishing habiliments in which these big, overgrown children occasionally appeared. Any garment secured from us was always regarded purely as an ornament, and not in any sense as a necessary article of covering, unless to protect themselves at times from the cold, or from insects. Neither did they have any knowledge of the civilized world's mandates as to the manner in which these articles should be worn. One day, my companion gave a pair of white drawers and a white vest to a dignified old captain who already possessed a black shirt and hat. Shortly thereafter, he appeared wearing all these articles as a morning dress, and these *only*. In the afternoon, he visited us again, wearing the vest and hat, *only*, as

584 The betrothal is consummated by the bridegroom-to-be, depositing at the entrance to the hut of the parents of the baby girl whom he desires shall one day become his wife, some much-prized game that he has had the "good luck" to capture. The parents of course learn, either directly or indirectly, what his wishes are in making them this valuable present; and if they do not object to the nuptials, their little daughter is reserved
585 for him. Again, some day, after the child has reached the age of ten or twelve years, the groom-to-be deposits at the entrance to her hut a highly prized fish or animal which he has had the good fortune to capture, then retires to his own hut. The father of the little maid now takes her by the wrist—always the wrist—conducts her to the entrance of the hut of her betrothed husband and delivers her to him, and she becomes his lawful, wedded wife without further ceremony.
582 He may be forty or fifty years of age, and have already a wife
554 and married children, though, nevertheless, allowed to have
595 two wives because he has slain the jaguar, or performed some other feat of valor, or because he is a captain, having passed middle life.

616 The inhabitants of every Bororó village are divided into two groups, called the *Sheraidi*, and the *Ta Nagarêda*, and a man is not permitted to take a wife from his own division, so must go to the other party for one. It is said that the Bororó tribe as it now exists is composed of two tribes that joined fortunes long ago, and that this is the origin of the *Sheraidi* and *Ta Nagarêda* divisions. But I doubt if this is true, for a similar social arrangement exists among other tribes. The Bororó have a tradition that centuries ago the *Sheraidi* possessed everything that the *braidi*—white man—now possesses, such as axes, hoes, knives, but that a calamity befell them because they had these things, so they forsook them. Perhaps the tribe was once in touch with the Inca civilization of the Andean slope.

222 After marriage, the Bororó child-wife may be seen with a
595 small basket upon her back, suspended as usual by a bark strap from the forehead, accompanying her old husband's senior

2: Steinen--i E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

142
237
292
301
554

Bororó chief.

/454 cont./

578 Today the younger of the two wives of Moguyokuri, a large, big-boned woman who seems to scorn all clothing, suddenly
[258] burst in with coarse vituperation. She had a bunch of mandioca roots in her hand and in a fury tossed them at Eliseo"s feet. We had already noticed the general mandioca-roasting today in the men's house; the planting had once again been prematurely robbed of the thin root stalks. Moguyokuri"s Xanthippe had apparently been unjustly accused of the theft; others had given her the mandioca. The quarrel took on ever greater proportions and lasted until evening. Two hostile parties among the women op-
● [554] posed each other. The loudest noise was made by "Maria," Arateba"s sister, who, in general, played the most important role of all the Indian women. Maria had been Duarte's mistress, and it was rumored that he had decked her out with riding habit and feather hat; now, at any rate, she was walking about in only her national costume, a small, sturdy, nimble, and, according to our ideas, moderately attractive person with sparkling eyes.

When the squabble had reached its height inside one of the huts, it was to be fought out in a sort of wrestling match. Everybody rushed out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one. Amid lively talk and gestures, they placed three women on one side and Maria opposite them alone. One of the three leaped forward with a big jump, Maria towards her. They clasped each other around the waist and a wild wrestling commenced. But in a few seconds they formed the center of a thick knot of onlookers and fellow combatants, a knot which itself kept milling about in the thick of things, and with a larger, looser crowd of people along the houses; it was a mad shoving and pushing, the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with amusement, the women vying with each other in their howling, while the two opponents were locked in a tight embrace and clutched each other's hair. Finally they were pulled apart, but the word-wrangle began all the more violently, with several yelling at several others. One old woman in particular drowned out all the others with her shrill voice. Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his

2: Steinen--599 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
583 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word: for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[629] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day; now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

/483 cont./

411 club, the bow was also the sole weapon of war. It is said of the Bororó dos Campos that they "seldom" had lances, with points of iron, bone, or stone. The club of the S. Lourenço was one and a third meters long, a rather flat piece of palm wood which was three to four centimeters wide and ended in a blade only five to six centimeters wide.

No. 5 in Figure 137 /see p. 605/ shows us the ordinary bow, baíga. It is up to 1.9 meters long and, at a width of a third of a [283] meter, is wound with a palm-fiber cord, a reserve bowstring that usually forms the continuation of the stretched bowstring; cf. Plate 411 28 /see p. 600/. The bows carried on festive occasions by chiefs 237 and regarded as ceremonial gifts, the ornamentation of which [554] is shown on No. 1, have magnificent feather ornaments. The wood has colorful small arara feathers pasted over it, either red and yellow or blue and yellow, with white down in between, and the end held up is crowned with a tuft of like-colored feathers. The colorful tuft sometimes also adorns the ordinary hunting bow. 411 The fortunate slayer of a jaguar, finally, is distinguished by the [531] bow of No. 2; on it are put a dozen small yellow bands of [554] oaussú palm leaf (Attalea spectabilis). The bows have a rather [824] flat back, whereas the surface facing the bowstring is more convex, the opposite of the Paressí bows.

[824] The arrows have a shaft either of kambayuva reed or of the elegant black seriba palm straw (Avicennia). On the pencil-thin seriba shafts is set an end-piece of reed on which the tail feathers are attached; they are carefully planed with pierced Bulimus shells and more smoothly polished with lischa leaves, which are rough like sandpaper.

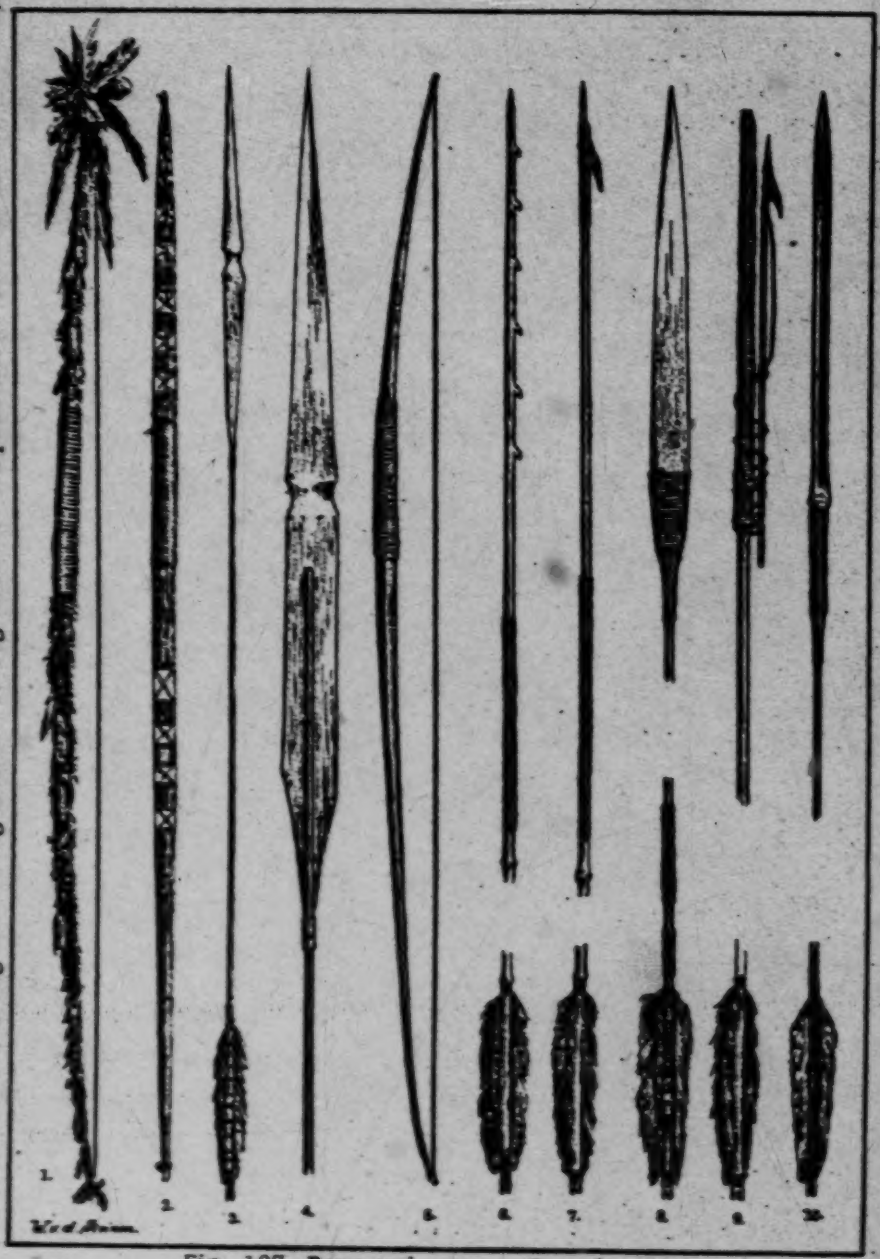
/484/ /Fig. 137 appears here./

/485/ Common to all arrows are the two pinions put on with a spiral twist and fastened at the upper and lower end; on the illustrations one can see how the shaft of the feather stands out from the reed of the arrow in a slight curve. A few rings of small, dainty feathers are often also put on between them.

[Text continues on p. 606]

2: Steinen--605 F,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi

Bororo SP8



1. Bow of the chief, 2. of the jaguar hunter. 3. Jaguar arrow. 4. Bamboo point of 3. 5. Ordinary bow. 6 and 7. Hunting and fishing arrows. 8. Pig arrow. 9. Harpoon arrow. 10. War arrow.

Fig. 137. Bows and arrows. Bororó.

/490 cont./

262 515 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set). "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their 252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri. Everything 262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the ornamental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers. 232 Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 [264] [171] Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó from eating together, as it did the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and Karayá /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on scant hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in [252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob- [262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about [554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 [575] The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari. The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

/500 cont./ One day The men permitted
302 themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
[123] on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by it and called out, "aídye," "whizzer sticks," which at that time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, characterized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso. Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing. Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the evening we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail, another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree beside a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

554 Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and an-
[622] nounces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the planting on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance;
[648] it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person, but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
[756] Clemente said, artificially inflated. Actually, the position of a medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable position of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations. Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his trade.